EXHIBIT 1

December 1, 2023 Declaration of Dr. Oskooii

Expert Report Submitted on Behalf of Plaintiffs in Soto Palmer, et al. v. Hobbs, et al.

Kassra AR Oskooii, Ph.D.
University of Delaware
December 1, 2023

A. Background and Qualifications

- 1. I, Kassra AR Oskooii, am over 18 years of age and am competent to testify.
- 2. I am a tenured, Associate Professor and Provost Teaching Fellow in the department of Political Science and International Relations at the University of Delaware ("UD"), having joined the faculty in 2016 as an Assistant Professor. I am also an affiliated faculty member at UD's Data Science Institute, Master of Science in Data Science, Center for Political Communication, and Center for the Study of Diversity. My research and teaching focuses on American political behavior, political methodology, political psychology, political representation, voting rights, and redistricting. My research has appeared in numerous leading peer-reviewed, social science journals, including Sociological Methods and Research, Political Behavior, Public Opinion Quarterly, Political Psychology, British Journal of Political Science, Electoral Studies, Perspectives on Politics, Urban Affairs Review, State Politics and Policy Quarterly, and Journal of Public Policy.
- 3. I received my Ph.D. in Political Science, specializing in American politics, minority and race politics, and political methodology, from the University of Washington in Seattle, Washington in 2016. Prior to that, I received my Master's Degree in Political Science at the University of Washington and received a political methodology field certificate from the Center for Statistics & the Social Sciences in 2013. I received my Bachelor of Arts in Political Science in 2008 at the University of Washington, with minors in Human Rights and Law, Societies, and Justice.
- 4. Of relevance to this report, I have taught courses at the University of Delaware related to demographic data collection and analysis, evaluation of redistricting plans for compliance with the Voting Rights Act of 1965 ("VRA"), and the drawing of redistricting plans using traditional redistricting criteria. Relatedly, I have been retained as an expert in redistricting and voting rights cases, including *Dickinson Bay Area Branch NAACP v. Galveston County, Texas*, No. 3:22-cv-117-JVB (S.D. Tex. 2023) (deposed and testified), *Baltimore County Branch of the NAACP v. Baltimore County, Maryland*, No. 1:21-cv-03232-LKG (D. Md. 2022), *Common Cause Florida v. Lee*, No. 4:22-cv-00109-AW-MAF (N.D. Fla. 2022) (deposed), *Reyes v. Chilton*, No. 4:21-cv-05075-MKD (E.D. Wash. 2021) (deposed), *Finn et al. v. Cobb County Board of Elections and Registration*, No. 1:22-cv-02300-ELR (N.D. Ga. 2022), *Caroline County Branch of the NAACP v. Town of Federalsburg*, Civ. Action No. 23-SAG-00484 (D. Md. 2023), and *Coca v. City of Dodge City, et al.*, Case No. 6:22-cv-01274 (D. Kan. 2022) (deposed).
- 5. As an expert consultant, I have also advised the State of Maryland on its 2021 Congressional and Legislative redistricting plans. I have also examined and redrawn the 2022 school board district boundaries of the Roswell Independent School District in the state of New Mexico. More information about my qualifications and expert witness and consulting background can be found on my Curriculum Vitae, appended to this declaration as **Exhibit A**.

6. I am being compensated by the plaintiffs at a rate of \$350 an hour for my work on this on this matter. My compensation is not in any way contingent on the content of my opinions or the outcome of this matter.

B. Scope of Work

- 7. I was asked to prepare legislative redistricting plans for the Washington Legislature (i) that respect traditional redistricting criteria and the redistricting criteria set forth in Washington law, and (ii) that include a legislative district numbered 14 ("LD 14") in the Yakima Valley region uniting communities of interest in the region and remedying the Section 2 violation found by the district court. With respect to the second requirement, I was asked to draw maps that include an LD 14 that, to the extent possible, unifies the population centers from East Yakima to Pasco that form a community of interest, including cities in the Lower Yakima Valley like Wapato, Toppenish, Granger, Sunnyside, Mabton, and Grandview.
- 8. I prepared four remedial plans that satisfy all of the above requirements (Plaintiffs' Remedial Maps 1-4). At the request of Counsel for Plaintiffs, I prepared one additional remedial option that respects traditional redistricting criteria and the redistricting criteria set forth in Washington law, and that unites East Yakima with the Lower Yakima Valley cities listed above but does not include Pasco in LD 14 (Plaintiffs' Remedial Map 5).
- 9. Attached to this report, I include district shapes for all five remedial maps in GeoJSON format, as well as block assignment files and pdf images of each remedial maps. I also include the remedial maps in an interactive html format that displays important roadways, geographical markers, and voting precinct boundaries. The maps in html format can be downloaded to a computer and opened on any internet browser.

C. Approach

- 10. I relied on the applicable redistricting criteria to draw the five remedial maps.
- 11. In drawing districts, I considered the criteria found in Washington Constitution Article 2, Section 43 and in statute at RCW 44.05.090. I drew districts to have a population as nearly equal as is practicable, consistent with the constitutional one-person-one-vote requirement. I drew districts to follow boundaries of political subdivisions and communities of interest. I minimized the number of counties, municipalities, and precincts split into multiple districts. And I endeavored to draw districts with convenient, contiguous, and compact territory, ensuring that areas of each district are connected and can be readily traversed by road.
- 12. I also considered other traditional redistricting principles in drawing the remedial plans. To the extent practicable, I sought to minimize changes to districts outside the Yakima Valley region. I also avoided pairing incumbents to the extent practicable, based on publicly available data.

- 13. I did not consider race or racial demographics in drawing the remedial plans. I did not make visible, view, or otherwise consult any racial demographic data while drawing districts. I did not assess the districts for performance to elect minority candidates of choice.
- 14. I did not consider election results or any partisan performance metrics in drawing the remedial plans, and I did not make visible, view, or otherwise consult any such data while drawing districts.
- 15. As indicated in further detail below, I conclude that all five remedial maps herein abide by Washington's redistricting criteria and other traditional redistricting criteria.

D. Plaintiffs' Remedial Map 1

16. Figure 1 below provides a visual depiction of Plaintiffs' Remedial Map 1. Remedial Map 1 includes an LD 14 that unites the population centers forming a community of interest between East Yakima and Pasco. The map also keeps the Yakama Nation Reservation whole in LD 14, along with some off-reservation trust lands and fishing villages.

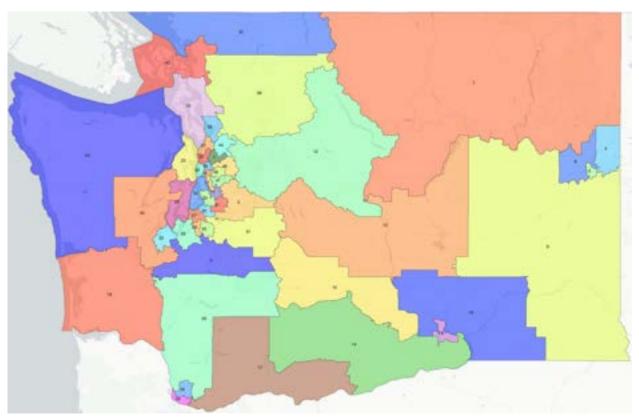


Figure 1: Remedial Map 1

17. **Appendix Table 1**, located at the end of this document provides, for each district in Remedial Map 1, the total population based on Washington's adjusted 2020 U.S. Census data and the population deviation from the target population (157,251). According to Table

- 1, Remedial Map 1 has a negligible total population deviation of 0.23%, which is less than the Enacted Plan and well below the 10% population deviation threshold for state legislative plans accepted by courts.
- 18. Remedial Map 1's districts are reasonably shaped and compact, particularly given the often oddly shaped precinct and municipal boundaries and variable topography in Washington. **Appendix Table 2** provides the Reock and Polsby-Popper compactness scores for Remedial Map 1, which are largely on par with the compactness scores for the Enacted Plan.²
- 19. Remedial Map 1's districts are comprised of convenient, contiguous territory and are traversable.
- 20. Remedial Map 1 respects communities of interest and minimizes splitting counties, cities, and precincts. **Appendix Table 3** provides statistics regarding county splits for Remedial Map 1, including county-district splits and district-county splits.³ Remedial Map 1 performs about the same on county split metrics as compared to the Enacted Plan. With respect to precinct and city splits, I used the updated 2022 precinct boundaries and avoided any precinct or city splits unless such splits were necessary for the purposes of maintaining population equality and/or contiguity (including road connectivity).
- 21. To the extent practicable after complying with the above criteria, I endeavored to minimize changes to districts outside the Yakima Valley region and avoid pairing incumbents.
- 22. In summary, Remedial Map 1 is compliant with all relevant redistricting criteria.

E. Plaintiffs' Remedial Map 2

23. Figure 2 below provides a visual depiction of Plaintiffs' Remedial Map 2. Remedial Map 2 contains an LD 14 that is identical to the LD 14 in Remedial Map 1, but offers an alternative configuration of surrounding districts.

¹ Total population deviation for a redistricting plan is calculated by taking the difference between the population deviation in the least and most populous districts.

² Reock score is calculated by taking the ratio of the area of a district to the area of its minimum bounding circle. Polsby-Popper score is calculated by taking the ratio of the area of a district to the area of a circle whose circumference matches the perimeter of the district. Both scores range from 0 to 1. Scores closer to 0 indicate a less compact jurisdiction and scores closer to 1 indicate a more compact jurisdiction.

³ The county-district split metric measures the extent to which the plan splits counties across districts. The district-county split metric measures the extent to which districts are split across counties.

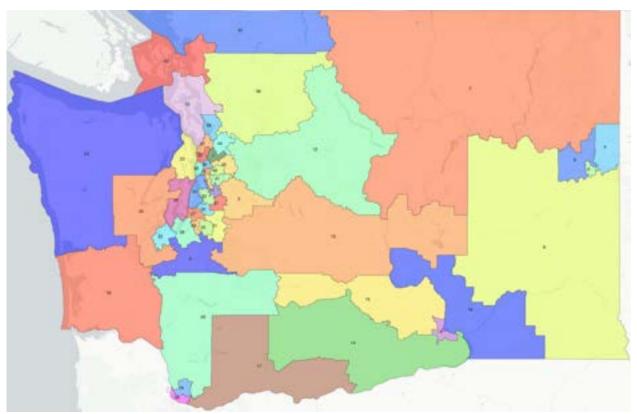


Figure 2: Remedial Map 2

- 24. **Appendix Table 1** provides, for each district in Remedial Map 2, the total population based on Washington's adjusted 2020 U.S. Census data and the population deviation from the target population (157,251). According to Table 1, Remedial Map 2 has a negligible total population deviation of 0.22%, which is less than the Enacted Plan and well below the 10% population deviation threshold for state legislative plans accepted by courts.
- 25. Remedial Map 2's districts are reasonably shaped and compact, particularly given the often oddly shaped precinct and municipal boundaries and variable topography in Washington. **Appendix Table 2** provides the Reock and Polsby-Popper compactness scores for Remedial Map 2, which are largely on par with the compactness scores for the Enacted Plan
- 26. Remedial Map 2's districts are comprised of convenient, contiguous territory and are traversable.
- 27. Remedial Map 2 respects communities of interest and minimizes splitting counties, cities, and precincts. **Appendix Table 3** provides statistics regarding county splits for Remedial Map 2, which performs about the same on metrics of county splits as compared to the Enacted Plan. Cities and precincts were only split when necessary for the purposes of population deviation and/or contiguity (including road connectivity).
- 28. To the extent practicable after complying with the above criteria, I endeavored to minimize changes to districts outside the Yakima Valley region and avoid pairing incumbents.

29. In summary, Remedial Map 2 is compliant with all relevant redistricting criteria.

F. Plaintiffs' Remedial Map 3

30. Figure 3 below provides a visual depiction of Plaintiffs' Remedial Map 3. Remedial Map 3 includes an LD 14 that unites the population centers forming a community of interest between East Yakima to Pasco. In addition to keeping the Yakama Nation Reservation whole in LD 14, Remedial Map 3 also incorporates into LD 14 all of the Yakama Nation's off-reservation trust lands and fishing villages.

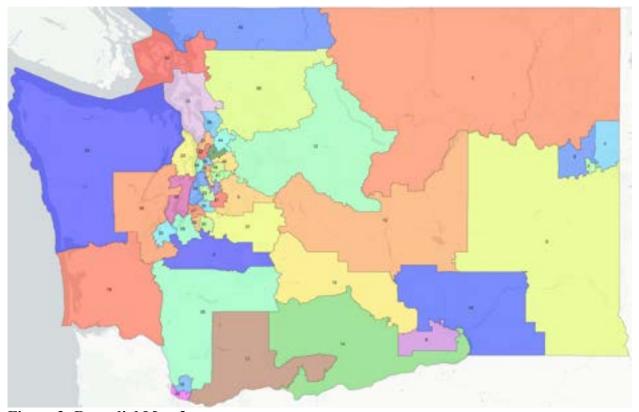


Figure 3: Remedial Map 3

- 31. **Appendix Table 1** provides, for each district in Remedial Map 3, the total population based on Washington's adjusted 2020 U.S. Census data and the population deviation from the target population (157,251). According to Table 1, Remedial Map 3 has a negligible total population deviation of 0.24%, which is less than the Enacted Plan and well below the 10% population deviation threshold for state legislative plans accepted by courts.
- 32. Remedial Map 3's districts are reasonably shaped and compact, particularly given the often oddly shaped precinct and municipal boundaries and variable topography in Washington. **Appendix Table 2** provides the Reock and Polsby-Popper compactness scores for Remedial Map 3, which are largely on par with the compactness scores for the Enacted Plan.

- 33. Remedial Map 3's districts are comprised of convenient, contiguous territory and are traversable.
- 34. Remedial Map 3 respects communities of interest and minimizes splitting counties, cities, and precincts. **Appendix Table 3** provides statistics regarding county splits for Remedial Map 3, which performs the same or better on metrics of county splits as compared to the Enacted Plan. Cities and precincts were only split when necessary for the purposes of population deviation and/or contiguity (including road connectivity).
- 35. To the extent practicable after complying with the above criteria, I endeavored to minimize changes to districts outside the Yakima Valley region and avoid pairing incumbents.
- 36. In summary, Remedial Map 3 is compliant with all relevant redistricting criteria.

G. Plaintiffs' Remedial Map 4

37. Figure 4 below provides a visual depiction of Plaintiffs' Remedial Map 4. Remedial Map 4 includes an LD 14 that is identical to LD 14 in Remedial Map 3, but offers an alternative configuration of surrounding districts.

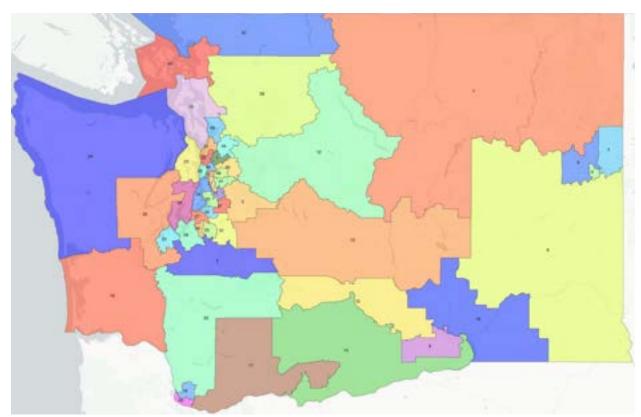


Figure 4: Remedial Map 4

38. **Appendix Table 1** below provides, for each district in Remedial Map 4, the total population based on Washington's adjusted 2020 U.S. Census data and the population deviation from the target population (157,251). According to Table 1, Remedial Map 4 has

- a negligible total population deviation of 0.24%, which is less than the Enacted Plan and well below the 10% population deviation threshold for state legislative plans accepted by courts.
- 39. Remedial Map 4's districts are reasonably shaped and compact, particularly given the often oddly shaped precinct and municipal boundaries and variable topography in Washington. **Appendix Table 2** below provides the Reock and Polsby-Popper compactness scores for Remedial Map 4, which are largely on par with the compactness scores for the Enacted Plan.
- 40. Remedial Map 4's districts are comprised of convenient, contiguous territory and are traversable.
- 41. Remedial Map 4 respects communities of interest and minimizes splitting counties, cities, and precincts. **Appendix Table 3** below provides statistics regarding county splits for Remedial Map 4, which performs about the same on metrics of county splits as compared to the Enacted Plan. Cities and precincts were only split when necessary for the purposes of population deviation and/or contiguity (including road connectivity).
- 42. To the extent practicable after complying with the above criteria, I endeavored to minimize changes to districts outside the Yakima Valley region and avoid pairing incumbents.
- 43. In summary, Remedial Map 4 is compliant with all relevant redistricting criteria.

H. Plaintiffs' Remedial Map 5

44. Figure 5 below provides a visual depiction of Plaintiffs' Remedial Map 5. Remedial Map 5 includes an LD 14 that unites the population centers in Yakima County that form a community of interest, including East Yakima and cities in the Lower Yakima Valley like Wapato, Toppenish, Granger, Sunnyside, Mabton, and Grandview. The map also keeps the Yakama Nation Reservation whole in LD 14 and keeps nearly the entire district wholly within Yakima County.

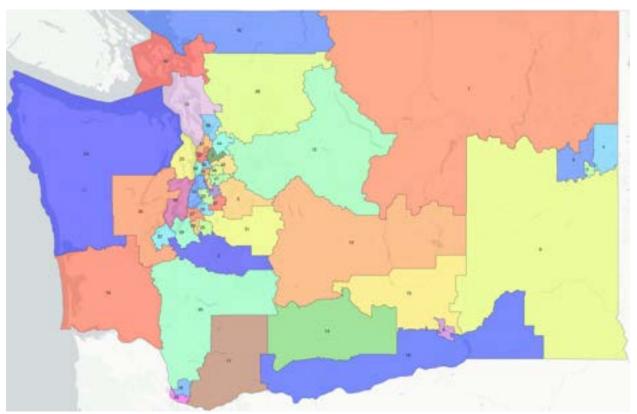


Figure 5: Remedial Map 5

- 45. **Appendix Table 1** in the Appendix provides, for each district in Remedial Map 5, the total population based on Washington's adjusted 2020 U.S. Census data and the population deviation from the target population (157,251). According to Table 1, Remedial Map 4 has a negligible total population deviation of 0.25%, which is the same as the Enacted Plan and well below the 10% population deviation threshold for state legislative plans accepted by courts.
- 46. Remedial Map 5's districts are reasonably shaped and compact, particularly given the often oddly shaped precinct and municipal boundaries and variable topography in Washington. **Appendix Table 2** provides the Reock and Polsby-Popper compactness scores for Remedial Map 5, which are largely on par with the compactness scores for the Enacted Plan.
- 47. Remedial Map 5's districts are comprised of convenient, contiguous territory and are traversable.
- 48. Remedial Map 5 respects communities of interest and minimizes splitting counties, cities, and precincts. **Appendix Table 3** provides statistics regarding county splits for Remedial Map 5, which performs about the same on metrics of county splits as compared to the Enacted Plan. Cities and precincts were only split when necessary for the purposes of population deviation and/or contiguity (including road connectivity).

- 49. To the extent practicable after complying with the above criteria, I endeavored to minimize changes to districts outside the Yakima Valley region and avoid pairing incumbents.
- 50. In summary, Remedial Map 5 is compliant with all relevant redistricting criteria.

I. Conclusion

- 51. I reserve the right to modify, update, or supplement my report as additional information is made available to me.
- 52. Pursuant to 28 U.S.C. § 1746, I, Kassra AR Oskooii, declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct.

Executed by:

Dr. Kassra AR Oskooii

Ir. Oshow

Dated: December 1, 2023

Appendix

Table 1 – Population Deviation

District	rict Enacted Map		Enacted Map Remedial Map 1			Iap 1	Remedial Map 2 Remedial Map 3			Remedial Map 4		Remedial Map 5						
District	Total			Total			Total			Total			Total			Total		
	Pop	Deviation	%	Pop	Deviation	%	Pop	Deviation	%	Pop	Deviation	%	Pop	Deviation	%	Pop	Deviation	%
1	157284	33	0.021%	157284	33	0.021%	157284	33	0.021%	157284	33	0.021%	157284	33	0.021%	157284	33	0.021%
2	157441	190	0.121%	157371	120	0.076%	157244	-7	-0.004%	157429	178	0.113%	157429	178	0.113%	157441	190	0.121%
3	157244	-7	-0.004%	157244	-7	-0.004%	157244	-7	-0.004%	157244	-7	-0.004%	157244	-7	-0.004%	157244	-7	-0.004%
4	157261	10	0.006%	157261	10	0.006%	157261	10	0.006%	157261	10	0.006%	157261	10	0.006%	157261	10	0.006%
5	157289	38	0.024%	157287	36	0.023%	157289	38	0.024%	157237	-14	-0.009%	157289	38	0.024%	157289	38	0.024%
6	157252	1	0.001%	157252	1	0.001%	157252	1	0.001%	157252	1	0.001%	157252	1	0.001%	157252	1	0.001%
7	157250	-1	-0.001%	157248	-3	-0.002%	157250	-1	-0.001%	157313	62	0.039%	157250	-1	-0.001%	157250	-1	-0.001%
8	157266		0.010%	157198	-53	-0.034%	157198	-53	-0.034%		-141	-0.090%	157110	-141	-0.090%	157266	15	0.010%
9	157247		-0.003%	157125	-126	-0.080%	157156	-95	-0.060%		-126	-0.080%	157156	-95	-0.060%	157247	-4	-0.003%
10	157261	10	0.006%	157261	10	0.006%	157261	10	0.006%	157261	10	0.006%	157261	10	0.006%	157261	10	0.006%
11	157228	-23	-0.015%	157228	-23	-0.015%	157228	-23	-0.015%	157228	-23	-0.015%	157228	-23	-0.015%	157228	-23	-0.015%
12	157247	-4	-0.003%	157175	-76	-0.048%	157247	-4	-0.003%	157096	-155	-0.099%	157247	-4	-0.003%	157247	-4	-0.003%
13	157248		-0.002%	157145	-106	-0.067%	157250	-1	-0.001%	157360	109	0.069%	157312	61	0.039%	157283	32	0.020%
14	157253	2	0.001%	157166	-85	-0.054%	157166	-85	-0.054%	157318	67	0.043%	157318	67	0.043%	157377	126	0.080%
15	157231		-0.013%	157409	158	0.100%	157203	-48	-0.031%	1	-129	-0.082%	157070	-181	-0.115%	157084	-167	-0.106%
16	157254		0.002%	157081	-170	-0.108%	157318	67	0.043%	157270	19	0.012%	157309	58	0.037%	157242	-9	-0.006%
17	157239		-0.008%	157405	154	0.098%	157405	154	0.098%	157346	95	0.060%	157346	95	0.060%	157239	-12	-0.008%
18	157261	10	0.006%	157261	10	0.006%	157261	10	0.006%	157261	10	0.006%	157261	10	0.006%	157261	10	0.006%
19	157236		-0.010%	157236	-15	-0.010%	157236	-15	-0.010%	157236	-15	-0.010%	157236	-15	-0.010%	157236	-15	-0.010%
20	157243		-0.005%	157401	150	0.095%	157401	150	0.095%	157353	102	0.065%	157353	102	0.065%	157243	-8	-0.005%
21	157212		-0.025%	157212	-39	-0.025%	157212	-39	-0.025%		-39	-0.025%	157212	-39	-0.025%	157212	-39	-0.025%
22	157257		0.004%	157257	6	0.004%	157257	6	0.004%	157257	6	0.004%	157257	6	0.004%	157257	6	0.004%
23	157258		0.004%	157258	7	0.004%	157258	7	0.004%	157258	7	0.004%	157258	7	0.004%	157258	7	0.004%
24	157233		-0.011%	157233	-18	-0.011%	157233	-18	-0.011%	1	-18	-0.011%	157233	-18	-0.011%	157233	-18	-0.011%
25	157268		0.011%	157268	17	0.011%	157268	17	0.011%	157268	17	0.011%	157268	17	0.011%	157268	17	0.011%
26	157227		-0.015%	157227	-24	-0.015%	157227	-24	-0.015%		-24	-0.015%	157227	-24	-0.015%	157227	-24	-0.015%
27	157239		-0.008%	157239	-12	-0.008%	157239	-12	-0.008%	157239	-12	-0.008%	157239	-12	-0.008%	157239	-12	-0.008%
28	157289		0.024%	157289	38	0.024%	157289	38	0.024%	157289	38	0.024%	157289	38	0.024%	157289	38	0.024%
29	157054		-0.125%	157054	-197	-0.125%	157054	-197	-0.125%		-197	-0.125%	157054	-197	-0.125%	157054	-197	-0.125%
30	157277		0.017%	157277	26	0.017%	157277	26	0.017%	157277	26	0.017%	157277	26	0.017%	157277	26	0.017%
31	157223		-0.018%	157420	169	0.107%	157304	53	0.034%	157352	101	0.064%	157242	-9	-0.006%	157223	-28	-0.018%
32	157211	-40	-0.025%	157211	-40	-0.025%	157211	-40	-0.025%	157211	-40	-0.025%	157211	-40	-0.025%	157211	-40	-0.025%
33	157256		0.003%	157256	5	0.003%	157256	5	0.003%	157256	5	0.003%	157256	5	0.003%	157256	5	0.003%
34	157234		-0.011%	157234	-17	-0.011%	157234	-17	-0.011%	157234	-17	-0.011%	157234	-17	-0.011%	157234	-17	-0.011%
35	157268		0.011%	157268	17	0.011%	157268	17	0.011%	157268	17	0.011%	157268	17	0.011%	157268	17	0.011%
36	157250		-0.001%	157250	-1	-0.001%	157250	-1	-0.001%		-1	-0.001%	157250	-1	-0.001%	157250	-1	-0.001%
37	157247		-0.003%	157247	-4	-0.003%	157247	-4	-0.003%		-4	-0.003%	157247	-4	-0.003%	157247	-4	-0.003%
38	157215		-0.023%	157215	-36	-0.023%	157215	-36	-0.023%	157215	-36	-0.023%	157215	-36	-0.023%	157215	-36	-0.023%
39	157306		0.035%	157306	55	0.035%	157306	55	0.035%	157306	55	0.035%	157306	55	0.035%	157306	55	0.035%
40	157261	10	0.006%	157261	10	0.006%	157261	10	0.006%	157261	10	0.006%	157261	10	0.006%	157261	10	0.006%
41	157234		-0.011%	157234	-17	-0.011%	157234	-17	-0.011%	157234	-17	-0.011%	157234	-17	-0.011%	157234	-17	-0.011%
42	157263		0.008%	157263	12 -4	0.008%	157263	12	0.008%	157263	12	0.008%	157263	12	0.008%	157263	12	0.008%
43	157247		-0.003%	157247		-0.003%	157247	-4 -3	-0.003%		-4	-0.003%	157247	-4 2	-0.003%	157247	-4	-0.003%
44	157248		-0.002%	157248	-3	-0.002%	157248		-0.002%	1	-3	-0.002%	157248	-3	-0.002%	157248	-3	-0.002%
45	157270		0.012%	157270	19	0.012%	157270	19	0.012%	157270	19	0.012%	157270	19	0.012%	157270	19	0.012%
46	157255		0.003%	157255	4 -11	0.003%	157255	4	0.003%	157255	4	0.003%	157255	4	0.003%	157255	4	0.003%
47 48	157240 157252		-0.007% 0.001%	157240 157252	-11 1	-0.007% 0.001%	157240 157252	-11 1	-0.007% 0.001%	157240 157252	-11	-0.007% 0.001%	157240 157252	-11 1	-0.007% 0.001%	157240 157252	-11 1	-0.007% 0.001%
48 49	157252		0.001%	157252	1	0.001%	157252	1	0.001%	157252	1 1	0.001%	157252	1	0.001%	157252	1	0.001%
Total	13/232						15,252							1				
Deviation	-	-	0.25%	-	-	0.23%	-	-	0.22%	-	-	0.24%	-	-	0.24%	-	-	0.25%

Table 2 – Compactness Scores

	Enacted Map	Remedial Map 1	Remedial Map 2	Remedial Map 3	Remedial Map 4	Remedial Map 5
Reock	0.44	0.42	0.42	0.43	0.42	0.43
Polsby-Popper	0.33	0.32	0.31	0.32	0.32	0.32

Table 3 – County Split Metrics

	Enacted Map	Remedial Map 1	Remedial Map 2	Remedial Map 3	Remedial Map 4	Remedial Map 5
Number of Counties Split	18	20	19	20	19	19
County-District Splitting	1.61	1.68	1.64	1.61	1.63	1.62
District-County Splitting	1.25	1.25	1.26	1.24	1.25	1.26

Kassra A.R. Oskooii

Contact University of Delaware Information

Political Science & International Relations

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Academic **Appointments** **University of Delaware**

Political Science & International Relations

Associate Professor 2021-Present Assistant Professor 2016-2021 2022-Present

Current Faculty Affiliations:

Provost Teaching Fellow

Data Science Institute (DSI) 2023-Present Master of Science in Data Science (MSDS) 2023-Present Center for Political Communication (CPC) 2016-Present Center for the Study of Diversity (CSD) 2016-Present

Former Faculty Affiliations:

Race, Justice, Policy Research Initiative (RJPRI) 2017-2023

Education

University of Washington

Ph.D., 2016

Department of Political Science

General Fields: American Politics & Political Methodology

Specialized Field: Minority and Race Politics

University of Washington

M.A., 2013

Department of Political Science

Center for Statistics & the Social Sciences (CSSS) Political Methodology Field Certificate (2013)

University of Washington

B.A., 2008

Major: Political Science

Minors: Human Rights and Law, Societies, & Justice

Peer-Reviewed Journal **Publications**

"In the Shadow of September 11: The Roots and Ramifications of Anti-Muslim Attitudes in the United States." Advances in Political Psychology. w/ Lajevardi, N., Saleem, M., and Docherty, M. (Forthcoming)

"Social Mobility Through Immigrant Resentment: Explaining Latinx Support for Restrictive Immigration Policies and Anti-Immigrant Candidates." Public Opinion Quarterly. w/ Hickel, F., and Collingwood, L. (Forthcoming)

- "The Participatory Implications of Racialized Policy Feedback." 2023. **Perspectives on Politics**, 21(3): 932-950. w/ Garcia-Rios, S., Lajevardi, N. and Walker, H.
- "Undermining Sanctuary? When Local and National Partisan Cues Diverge." 2023. *Urban Affairs Review*, 59(1): 133-169. w/ Collingwood, L. & Martinez, G.
- "Fight Not Flight: The Effects of Explicit Racism on Minority Political Engagement." 2022. *Electoral Studies*, 80: 102515. w/ Besco, R., Garcia-Rios, S., Lagodny, J., Lajevardi, N., Tolley, E.
- "Hate, Amplified? Social Media News Consumption and Anti-Muslim Policy Support." 2022. *Journal of Public Policy*, 42: 656-683. w/Lajevardi, N. and Walker, H. (FirstView)
- "Estimating Candidate Support in Voting Rights Act Cases: Comparing Iterative EI and EI-RxC Methods." 2022. **Sociological Methods and Research**, 51(1): 271-304. w/ Barreto, M., Collingwood & Garcia-Rios, S.
- "Beyond Generalized Ethnocentrism: Islam-Specific Beliefs and Prejudice toward Muslim Americans." 2021. *Politics, Groups, and Identities*, 9(3): 538-565. w/ Dana, K. & Barreto, M.
- "Opinion Shift and Stability: The Information Environment and Long-Lasting Opposition to Trump's Muslim Ban." 2021. Political Behavior, 43: 301–337. w/Lajevardi, N. & Collingwood, L. Covered in: The Washington Post (Monkey Cage)
- "The Role of Identity Prioritization: Why Some Latinx Support Restrictionist Immigration Policies and Candidates." 2020. **Public Opinion Quarterly**, 84: 860–891. w/ Hickel, F., Alamillo, R. & Collingwood, L.
- "Perceived Discrimination and Political Behavior." 2020. **British Journal of Political Science**, 50(3): 867-892.
- "The Paradox Between Integration and Perceived Discrimination Among American Muslims." 2020. *Political Psychology*, 41(3): 587-606. w/Lajevardi, N., Walker, H. & Westfall, A.
 - Winner of the 2019 American Political Science Association Race, Ethnicity, and Politics Section Best Paper Award.
- "Veiled Politics: Experiences with Discrimination among Muslim Americans." 2019. *Politics and Religion*, 12(2): 629-677. w/ Dana, K., Lajevardi, N., & Walker, H.

- "Partisan Attitudes toward Sanctuary Cities: The Asymmetrical Effects of Political Knowledge." 2018. *Politics and Policy*, 46 (6): 951-984. w/ Dreier, S. & Collingwood, L.
- "A Change of Heart? Why Individual-Level Public Opinion Shifted against Trump's Muslim Ban." 2018. *Political Behavior*, 40: 1035-1072. w/Collingwood, L. & Lajevardi, N.
 - Covered in: The Washington Post (Monkey Cage), Vox, ThinkProgress, NPR, Al Jazeera, Middle East Eye, Psychology Today, & Social Psych Online
- "Old-Fashioned Racism, Contemporary Islamophobia, and the Political Isolation of Muslim Americans in the Age of Trump." 2018. **Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics**, 3(1): 112-152. w/ Lajevardi, N.
- "The Politics of Choice Reconsidered: Partisanship, Ideology, and Minority Politics in Washington's Charter School Initiative." 2018. **State Politics and Policy Quarterly**, 18(1): 61-92. w/ Collingwood, L. & Jochim, A.
- "Muslims in Great Britain: The Impact of Mosque Attendance on Political Behaviour and Civic Engagement." 2018. **Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies**, 44(9): 1479-1505. w/ Dana, K.
- "eiCompare: Comparing Ecological Inference Estimates across EI and EI: RxC." 2016. *R Journal*, 8(2): 92-101. w/ Collingwood, L., Barreto, M. & Garcia-Rios, S.
- "How Discrimination Impacts Sociopolitical Behavior: A Multidimensional Perspective." 2016. *Political Psychology*, 37(5): 613-640.
- "Mosques as American Institutions: Mosque Attendance, Religiosity and Integration into the Political System among American Muslims." 2011. **Religions**, 2(4): 504-524. w/ Dana, K. & Barreto, M.

Book Chapters Encyclopedic Entries

- "Discrimination." In *Edward Elgar Encyclopedia of Political Sociology* edited by Maria Grasso and Marco Giugni. (Forthcoming)
- "Race and Racism in U.S. Campaigns." 2020. In *Oxford Handbook on Electoral Persuasion* edited by Liz Suhay, Bernie Grofman, and Alex Trechsel, 15:278–295. w/ Christopher Parker, Christopher Towler, and Loren Collingwood.

Book Reviews

"Understanding Muslim Political Life in America: Contested Citizenship in the Twenty-First Century." Edited by Brian R. Calfano and Nazita Lajevardi. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2019. 248p. **Perspectives on Politics**.

Public Writing

- "Biden reverses Trump's 'Muslim Ban.' Americans support the decision." *The Washington Post* (Monkey Cage) (27 January, 2021). w/Lajevardi, N. and Collingwood, L.
- "Targeted: Veiled Women Experience Significantly More Discrimination in the U.S." *Religion in Public* (21 January, 2020). w/ Dana, K., Lajevardi, N., and Walker, H.
- "Here's what the Democrats need to do to get the DREAM Act through Congress." *LSE American Politics and Policy Blog* (29 January, 2018). Also covered by Newsweek U.S. Edition. w/ Walker, H. and Garcia-Rios, S.
- "Why Individual-Level Opinion Rapidly Shifted Against Trump's 'Muslim Ban' Executive Order." *Religion in Public* (17 January, 2018). w/ Collingwood, L. and Lajevardi, N.
- "Allies in name only? Latino-only leadership on DACA may trigger implicit racial biases among White liberals." *LSE American Politics and Policy Blog* (28 September, 2017). w/ Garcia-Rios, S. and Walker, H.
- "Protests against Trump's immigration executive order may have helped shift public opinion against it" **LSE American Politics and Policy Blog** (12 February, 2017). w/ Collingwood, L. and Lajevardi, N.

Select Works In Progress

- "The Influence of American Identity on Anti-Muslim Policy Preferences Across Partisans." w/ Lajevardi, N. (Invited for R&R)
- "Neighboring Identities: Psychological and Political Reactions to Xenophobic Campaign Attacks." w/ Basco, R., Fisher, S., Garcia-Rios, S., Lagodny, J., Lajevardi, N., and Tolley, E. (In Progress)
- "Partisan Winners and Losers: Testing Alternative Frames of Congressional Election Results Among White and Latino Voters." w/ Valenzuela, A. and Collingwood, L. (In Progress)
- "Polarizing Cues Revisited: The Role of Partisan Benchmarking." w/ Kipp, S., Medenica, V., and Walker, H. (In Progress)
- "Voting for Violence? Tracing Ethno-Racial and Partisan Differences in Support for Anti-Democratic Violence Before and After the 2020 Presidential Election." w/ Valenzuela, A. and Collingwood, L. (In Progress)
- "White Candidates and Latino Voters: The Significance of Symbolic vs Substantive Ethnic Cues." w/ Collingwood, L. and Alamillo, R. (In Progress)

Grants,	Nominee of UD's Excellence in Teaching Award	(2023)
Fellowships,	UD Provost Teaching Fellow	(2022-)
& Awards	APSA Race, Ethnicity, and Politics Best Paper Award	(2019)
	w/ Nazita Lajevardi, Hannah Walker and Aubrey Westfall	
	AAPOR Student-Faculty Diversity Pipeline Award	(2019)

CTAL Instructional Improvement Grant: Engaging Diversity	
in Political Science w/ Kara Ellerby (\$11,000)	(2018)
POSCIR Seed Research Grant (\$1,500)	(2018)
DEL General University Research Grant (\$7,500)	(2017)
UW Political Science Research Fellowship (est. \$13,000)	(2016)
Dissertation Improvement Research Grant, UCLA (\$3000)	(2015)
Dean Recognition for Exceptional Pedagogical Contribution, UW	(2014)
Best Graduate Paper in PoliSci (w/Hannah Walker), UW	(2014)
UW Center for Democracy & VRA Research Fellowship (\$5,000)	(2014)
UW Center for Democracy & VRA Research Fellowship (\$5,000)	(2013)
Center for Statistics and the Social Sciences Grant (\$1,000)	(2013)
UW WISER Research Grant (\$2500)	(2011-14)
UW WISER Survey Research Fellowship (\$20,000)	(2011-14)
Grad. Opportunities & Minority Achievement Fellowship (\$4,000)	(2010-11)
Donald R. Matthews Graduate Fellowship (\$40,000)	(2010-11)
Jody Deering Nyguist Award for Excellence in Public Speaking	(2008)

Research	Race, Justice, Policy Research Initiative, UD	(2017 -)
Center	Center for Political Communication, UD	(2016 -)
Affiliations	Center for the Study of Diversity, UD	(2016 -)
	UW Center for Democracy and Voting Rights Research	(2013-14)
	Washington Institute for the Study of Race & Ethnicity (WISER)	(2010-16)
	Center for Social Science and Statistics (CSSS)	(2010-16)
	Washington Survey Research Center (WASRC)	(2010-15)

Teaching Experience

University of Delaware (2016 -)

POSC 150: Intro to American Politics (x10)

POSC 230: Intro to Politics and Social Justice (x2)

POSC 413: Minority Politics, Representation, and Voting Rights (x4) POSC 867: Race, Ethnicity, and Politics (Graduate Seminar) (x3) POSC 807: American Political Behavior (Graduate Seminar) (x1)

University of Washington (2011-2016)

POLS 202: Intro to American Politics (x2)

POLS 357: Minority Representation and the Voting Rights Act (x1)

POLS 205: Political Science as a Social Science (TA)

POLS 317: US Race and Ethnic Politics (TA)

POLS 353: US Congress (TA)

POLS 503: Advanced Research Design and Analysis (TA) LAW E 558: Voting Rights Research and the Law (TA)

External Invited "Diversity and the State of Democratic Citizenship." Featured invited roundtable Talks/Panels sponsored by the *Center for the Study of Democratic Citizenship*. April 23,

2021.

"Shocks to the System: Capturing Opinion Shift and Stability Toward Trump's Muslim Ban." Keynote Speaker at the Democracy and Diversity Triannual Conference at the *Center for the Study of Democratic Citizenship* in Montreal, Canada. April 24-25, 2020. [Cancelled Due to COVID-19]

"The New American Electorate." Panelist. *Princeton University*. Event sponsored by the Center for the Study of Democratic Politics. April 3, 2020. [Cancelled Due to COVID-19]

"Neighboring Identities: Psychological and Political Reactions to Generalized and Particularized Anti-Immigrant Appeals." w/Sergio Garcia-Rios. *University of Toronto*. Talk Sponsored by the Department of Political Science. March 6, 2020.

"History, Institutions, and Theory Research Coordination Network on Racial and Ethnic Politics." Panelist. *University of Pennsylvania*. Event sponsored by the American Political Science Association's Special Projects Fund and the Center for the Study of Ethnicity, Race and Immigration at Penn. February 28-29, 2020.

"Using Observational and Experimental Data to Examine the Sociopolitical Consequences of Perceived Discrimination." *Rutgers University*. Talk sponsored by the Emerging Trends Lecture Series & the Center for the Experimental Study of Politics and Psychology. April 27, 2018.

"A Change of Heart? Using Panel Designs to Establish Causality with Real Events." w/Loren Collingwood. *Princeton University*. Talk sponsored by the Center for the Study of Democratic Politics. April 26, 2018.

"Using Observational and Experimental Data to Examine the Sociopolitical Consequences of Perceived Discrimination." *University of California Los Angeles*. Talk sponsored by the Race, Ethnicity and Politics Workshop. March 5, 2018.

"Muslim-American Attitudes, Sociopolitical Behavior, and Identity." Panelist/Section Presenter. *University of California Los Angeles*. Event sponsored by the Luskin School of Public Affairs & the National Science Foundation. December 15, 2017.

"Muslim-American Political Behavior." Panelist/Section Presenter. **Menlo College**. Event sponsored by Menlo College & the National Science Foundation. December 16, 2016.

Internal or Public Invited Talks/Panels "How Democratic is the U.S. Constitution, and to What Extent did the Founding Fathers Oppose Majority Rule?" Speaker. University Day Public Lecture. March 18, 2023.

"Race, Ethnicity, and Gender in the 2020 Election." Speaker. Panel sponsored by the University of Delaware POSCIR. December 14, 2020.

"Building Community: Scholarship and Connection among Faculty of Color." Speaker. Panel sponsored by the Center for the Study of Diversity (CSD) at the University of Delaware. February 24, 2020.

"Executive Power and the U.S. Democracy." Talk sponsored by the 2019 YALI Mandela Washington Fellows Program at the University of Delaware. July 2, 2019.

"Opinion Shift and Stability: Long-Lasting Opposition toward Trump's Muslim Ban." Talk sponsored by the Department of Sociology and Criminal Justice Colloquium Speaker Series at the University of Delaware. April 24, 2019.

"Old-Fashioned Racism and the Roots of Contemporary Islamophobia." Talk sponsored by the Center for the Study of Diversity (CSD) Colloquium Speaker Series at the University of Delaware. December 6, 2018.

"Understanding Executive Power in the United States." Talk sponsored by the 2018 YALI Mandela Washington Fellows Program at the University of Delaware. July 2, 2018.

"The Inclusion and Exclusion of Minority Groups in the United States." Talk sponsored by the 2017 YALI Mandela Washington Fellows Program at the University of Delaware. July 11, 2017.

"Inclusion and Exclusion: Perceptions of Discrimination in the Workplace." Diversity Summit Presenter. Talk sponsored by the Office of Equity and Inclusion at the University of Delaware. June 20, 2017.

"What Happens Now Part II? A Forum to Discuss Bigotry & Closed Borders in the Trump Era." Speaker. Panel sponsored by the Department of Women and Gender Studies, Sociology and Criminal Justice, Political Science and International Relations, & the College of Arts and Sciences at the University of Delaware. February 13, 2017.

"Forum on the Travel Ban Executive Order." Speaker. Panel sponsored by the University of Delaware Provost Office. February 7, 2017.

"What Happens Now Part I? Fear, Diversity, and Inclusion in Post-U.S. Election." Speaker. Panel sponsored by Women and Gender Studies, Sociology and Criminal Justice, Political Science and International Relations, History, & the College of Arts and Sciences at the University of Delaware. November

30, 2016.

"Race, Religion, and Gender." Election Central Panelist. Event sponsored by the Center for Political Communication at the University of Delaware. November 8, 2016.

Select Conference Presentations

2021

"Partisan Winners and Losers: Testing Alternative Frames of Congressional Election Results Among White and Latino Voters." Online Paper Presentation at the Annual American Political Science Association Conference (APSA).

"Kissing Up and Kicking Down: How Immigrant Resentment Impacts Latinx Support for Donald Trump and Restrictive Immigration Policies." Online Paper Presentation at the Annual American Political Science Association Conference (APSA).

"How do Political Attacks Affect Racial and Ethnic Self-Identities?" Online Paper Presentation at the Annual Midwest Political Science Association Conference (MPSA).

"Kissing Up and Kicking Down: How Immigrant Resentment Impacts Latinx Support for Donald Trump and Restrictive Immigration Policies." Online Paper Presentation at the Annual Midwest Political Science Association Conference (MPSA).

2019

"The Significance of Politicized Group Identities: Re-examining the Relationship between Contact with Punitive Political Institutions and Political Participation." Paper Presentation at the Annual American Political Science Association Conference (APSA) in Washington DC.

"Threat or Reassurance? Framing Midterm results among Latinos and Whites." Paper Presentation at the Annual American Political Science Association Conference (APSA) in Washington DC.

"When American Identity Trumps Latinx Identity: Explaining Support for Restrictive Immigration Policies." Paper Presentation at the Annual American Political Science Association Conference (APSA) in Washington DC.

"Anti-Minority Politics and Political Participation: Evidence from Four Countries." Paper Presentation at the Annual American Political Science Association Conference (APSA) in Washington DC.

2018

"Assessing the Link between Interactions with Punitive Political Institutions and Political Behavior." Paper Presentation at the 2018 Symposium on the Politics of Immigration, Race, and Ethnicity (SPIRE) Meeting in Philadelphia, PA (University of Pennsylvania).

"Are Integrated Muslim Americans More Likely to Perceive Discrimination?" Paper Presentation at the Annual American Political Science Association Conference (APSA) in Boston, MA.

"Opinion Shift and Stability: Enduring Individual-Level Opposition to Trump's Muslim Ban." Paper Presentation at the Annual American Political Science Association Conference (APSA) in Boston, MA.

"Assessing the Link between Interactions with Punitive Political Institutions and Political Behavior." Paper Presentation at the 2018 Collaborative Multiracial Post-Election Study (CMPS) Meeting in Los Angeles, CA (UCLA).

2017

"A Change of Heart? Why Individual-Level Public Opinion Shifted against Trump's Muslim Ban." Paper Presentation at the Annual American Political Science Association Conference (APSA) in San Francisco, CA.

"Veiled Politics: Experiences with Discrimination among American Muslims." Paper Presentation at the Annual American Political Science Association Conference (APSA) in San Francisco, CA.

"The Racial Shield as Racism Exoneration: Explaining White Racist Support for Conservative Minority Candidates." Paper Presentation at the Annual Western Political Science Association Conference (WPSA) in Vancouver BC, Canada.

2016

"Assessing the Mechanism Linking Discrimination to Democratic Engagement." Paper Presentation at the Annual American Political Science Association Conference (APSA) in Philadelphia, PA.

"Estimating Candidate Support: Comparing EI and EI-RxC." Paper Presentation at the Annual Midwest Political Science Association Conference (MPSA) in Chicago, Illinois.

Student Supervision Sadie Ellington, Dissertation Committee Member (POSC) Enes Aksu, Dissertation Committee Member (POSC) Enes Tuzgen, Dissertation Committee Member (POSC)
Olga Gerasimenko, Dissertation Committee Member (POSC)
Furkan Karakayan, Dissertation Committee Member (POSC)
Richard Takyi Amoah, Dissertation Committee Member (ECON)
Sheila Afrakomah, Dissertation Committee Member (ECON)
Ahmet Ates, Dissertation Committee Member (POSC)
Charles Mays, Long Paper and Dissertation Chair (POSC)
Ian Mumma, Long Paper Committee Member (POSC)
Clark Shanahan, Long Paper Committee Member (POSC)

Rachel Spruill, Undergraduate Honors Thesis Chair Jessica Sack, Undergraduate Honors Thesis Chair Jordan Spencer, Undergraduate Faculty Mentor for the McNair Program Lauren Turenchalk, Undergraduate Research Supervisor

Professional Service

Editorial Board Member

Politics and Religion (6/2018 - 12/2021)

Discipline Service

American Political Science Association (APSA) REP Section Chair (2021-2022)

Western Political Science Association (WPSA) Task Force on Equity, Inclusion, and Access in the Discipline (2020-2021)

APSA Race, Ethnicity, and Politics Best Paper Award Committee Member (2020)

University Service

2019 Summer Educational and Cultural Experience Program (SECEP) Lecturer of Politics and Justice in the United States. (July 27 - August 20, 2019)

Manuscript Reviewer/Referee

American Journal of Political Science, American Political Science Review, American Politics Research, British Journal of Political Science, Belgian Federal office for Science Policy, Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression, Cambridge University Press, Electoral Studies, European Political Science Review, International Journal of Public Opinion, Journal of Elections, Public Opinion & Parties, Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, Journal of Politics, Journal of Race, Ethnicity and Politics, Migration Studies, Perspectives on Politics, Political Behavior, Politics, Groups, and Identities, Political Psychology, Political Research Quarterly, Politics and Religion, Public Opinion Quarterly, Social Science Quarterly, Time-Sharing Experiments for the Social Sciences

Conference Coordination

Politics of Race, Immigration, and Ethnicity Consortium (PRIEC) at the University of Delaware. (2020)

Politics of Race, Immigration, and Ethnicity Consortium (PRIEC) at the University of Washington. (2013)

Latinos and the Voting Rights Act. Center for Democracy and Voting Rights Research at the University of Washington Law School. (2013)

Islam in the Public Sphere Conference. Washington Institute for the Study of Race & Ethnicity (WISER). (2011)

Expert Consulting Experience

State of Maryland Attorney General's Office; 2021 MD Redistricting

Baltimore County Branch of the NAACP v. Baltimore County, Maryland, No. 1:21-cv-03232-LKG (D. Md. 2022)

Common Cause Florida v. Lee, 4:22-cv-109-AW-MAF (N.D. Fla.)

Common Cause Florida v. Byrd, No. 4:22-cv-00109-AW-MAF (N.D. Fla. 2022) [Deposed]

Dickinson Bay Area NAACP Branch v. Galveston County, Texas, No. 3:22-cv-117-JVB (S.D. Tex. 2023) [Deposed & Testified]

Reyes v. Chilton, 4:21-cv-05075-MKD (E.D. Wash. 2021) [Deposed]

Roswell Independent School District (RISD); 2022 Redistricting

Caroline County Branch of the NAACP v. Town of Federalsburg, Civ. Action No. 23-SAG-00484 (D.Md. 2023)

Cobb County Board of Elections and Registration, No. 1:22-cv-02300-ELR (N.D. Ga. 2022)

Coca v. City of Dodge City, et al. Case no. 6:22-cv-01274 (D Kan. 2022) [Deposed]

Previous Research Positions Senior Researcher, Washington Poll

2010-2014

Public Opinion Survey Design, Programming, and Analysis.

Researcher, Center for Democracy & Voting Rights Research 2013-2014 Racially Polarized Voting (RPV) Analysis of jurisdictions in states such as: California, Florida, Texas, and Washington.

Investigator, Washington State Charter School Initiative

2013

Precinct and school district level data collection and analysis

of the I-1240 Vote for S360 Polling Firm and Melinda & Gates Foundation.

Skills & Additional Information Software: R, STATA, LATEX, ESRI, DRA

Languages: Farsi (Persian)–Native Speaker

R Packages: eiCompare (contributor), eiExpand (contributor)